

*The Office of Governors described; and
the Duty of Subjects recommended.*

IN A
S E R M O N

Preached at the ASSIZES held at

Abingdon in BERKS,

On Tuesday March 7, 1726-7.

Before the Honourable

Mr. Justice FORTESCUE,

AND

Mr. Justice DENTON.

By DAVID SCURLOCK, M.A. Vicar of
Pottern; and one of the Lecturers of Hackney.

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TO
EDWARD RIGGS, Esq;

High-Sheriff of the County of *Berks* ;

AND TO

Sir JOHN RUSH, Knt.

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Gentlemen of the Grand-Jury.

This Sermon, Published by their Desire,
is humbly Dedicated by their

Most Obedient Servant

DAVID SCURLOCK.

1 PET. ii. 13, 14.

*Submit your selves to every Ordinance
of Man for the Lord's sake, whe-
ther it be to the King, as Supreme;
Or unto Governors, as unto them
that are sent by him for the Pu-
nishment of Evil doers, and for the
Praise of them that do well.*

THE Purpose of our assembling
here this Day, is to consider of
those Social Duties which are
incumbent upon us in our several Sta-
tions and Capacities, as we are Christi-
ans and Britons, under our present hap-
py Establishment in Church and State :
And the Words I have read may suggest
to us some Matter of Consideration,
which may not be unsuitable to this Oc-
casion.

But it may indeed be doubted whe-
ther our reviewing the many different
Uses and Explications which have been

made of this noted Text, or of any like Passage in the New Testament, would be a sure Method to lead us to the true Design of it, and effectually to recommend the Duties therein prescribed.

For if we were to take our Notions of *St. Peter* or of *St. Paul* from the Altercations of Controvertists on the Topick of Government, we might apprehend these Apostles to have been certain profound Politicians, who formed such subtle Schemes of Policy, as may be adapted to the particular Views of any Parties which might start up in any Common-wealth: And we might be apt to consider their divine Writings, either on one hand as plain Deeds of Conveyance, which clearly invest the arbitrary Disposal of the Lives, Liberties and Estates of all Nations in their respective Governors; or to regard them on the other hand, as Charters which set forth the Rights, Liberties and Privileges of Subjects, and evidently prescribe such Proportions of Authority to Magistrates, as their People may occasionally see proper and convenient to allow them.

For as some have out of measure exalted, so others have without equitable Consideration depressed the Authority
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of Governors; the former advancing them to a pitch of Power not fit for Mortals to be entrusted with; the latter treating them with a Coarseness, and reducing 'em to a kind of popular Dependence, which is neither suitable to their Condition, nor altogether consistent with the Nature and Dignity of their Office. Not that we can be bold to affirm, that either the one or the other Party in these Disputes, mean at all Seasons and Events to confine themselves exactly to the Maxims and Principles which, with the utmost Zeal, they father even upon the Apostles. For they are ever apt to vary in their Reasonings, as the Scene of particular Interests may be shifted among them: And whatever they advance in Speculation on either side, yet in fact we cannot be sure that either the one will in any degree practise their passive Doctrine, or allow their Governors any rightful Claim of Authority at all, in the Exercise of which they may not be admitted to go Sharers with him; nor can we be certain that the other will grant hardly any thing, in which they may be themselves the Actors, to be an Excess of Jurisdiction.

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So that to explain our Text, or any other like part of Holy Writ, to a Conformity with the Schemes of Policy which it has been produced to support, would scarcely afford us very clear Direction in our respective Duties, but would be to make the sacred Doctrines of the Apostles subservient to the Opinions and Designs of Men, which may be as mutable as the Dictates of their Passions, and as variable as the Interests of the several Parties to which they may attach themselves.

But we may, without doubt, venture to take it for granted of all Sides, that *St. Peter* would entirely have approved of our Constitution, as it is now settled among us; and that, if he had been to write to us in particular who live under it, he would at least have required from us the Duties prescribed by him in this Epistle, which was written to Christians who lived under a much less perfect Form of Administration. And therefore if we apply his Injunction to enforce an Obedience to those Laws which secure our Constitution in Church and State, we shall take the best Method to answer his Design by it, as well as to promote the common Interest in which
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all particular Parties will be most sure to find their Account at last.

For whatever angry Disputes may have been generally agitated among us, and into whatever Variety of Factions we may be apt to be carried by them; yet it is a Felicity (which we owe to the Frame of our Constitution, and to the Abilities, Virtue and Integrity of those Governors who have the Custody of our Laws, and in them the Guardianship of every Blessing that God may dispence, or we can wish to enjoy on Earth) that no private Passion or Party Zeal has ever in any the least degree an Influence on the Administration of publick Justice among us; and that we are, tho' the most divided, yet the most secure against any Fraud and Violence, which might be the Effects of such Divisions, of any Nation in the World.

Be it therefore our Business (without interesting our Text, or the Author of it, in any political Debate) to set forth the several Duties, which are here propounded by the Apostle, upon the same Foundation whereon he grounds them, and so to form to our selves a true Notion of the Office of Governors, that we may perceive when it is worthily discharged,

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and be thence induced to pay all that Honour and Reverence which is due to the supreme Magistrate, or unto the Governors that are sent by him, and act by his Authority among us for the Preservation of the publick Peace and Welfare. And that we may propose the Observations that may occur to us upon this matter in something of Method, Let us consider

First, The Nature of that Office to which Governors are deputed, and the End of the Commission by which they act. And

Secondly, The Reasonableness of the Duty enjoined to those over whom they are appointed to act in this Capacity.

First, We are to consider The Nature of the Office to which Governors are deputed, and the End of the Commission by which they act.

It would be of no great use to spend many Words here in stating the Reasons that have been usually assigned for the Institution of Government in the World, or in reciting the laboured Arguments
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that have been brought to prove, that it is impracticable for Men to live in any tolerable degree of Peace and Order, without the Protection of Governors. For this is so obvious a Truth, that Mankind have ever acknowledged it upon the Experience of all Ages; and our meeting together at these solemn Seasons, to seek to our Governors for redress against mutual Frauds, Injuries, or Violences, which we may apprehend we have suffered from each other, sufficiently convinces us how much we stand in continual need of their Authority for our common Security.

But that the Propensity of Men to act by unreasonable Passions ever did and ever will put them under a Necessity of agreeing to some Laws, as the common Standard of their Actions, and of establishing in some Hands or other an Authority to compel an Observance of such Laws, may be properly remembered as a previous Observation to our Enquiry into the Nature of the Governor's Office.

For one general View of his Office is to prevent any Hurt or Damage to any Members of the Society wherein he presides, either in their Persons or Possessions,

sessions, thro' any corrupt Passion, perverse Humour, or wilful Wickedness of their Fellow-Subjects, as far as his dispensing of Punishments or Rewards can answer this End.

Thus our Text supposes Governors to be settled in Society, and to be employed in exerting Acts of Authority, for restraining Disturbers of the publick Peace, and it gives us a Description of the Nature and End of those Acts which they are to exercise in their Office.

For the Apostle comprehends the whole Business of the Magistrate under these Two Heads of *punishing Evil-doers*, and of *praising or encouraging them that do well*. And here we may very well suppose that in these general and indefinite Expressions he means to refer us to particular Laws for a Determination of what is to be adjudged Good or Evil doing. For without supposing some stated Laws of acting, nothing can be said to be either well or ill done, but all Actions would be in themselves indifferent: In regard that it is a Conformity to, or Deviation from, the eternal Law of Righteousness, which is to be the Ground and Measure of all human Laws, that constitutes the difference of
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Good or Evil in the Actions of Men. So that we cannot well suppose that it is to be altogether left to the Magistrate's private Sense to determine what Actions shall be deemed Good or Evil, and consequently fit to be punished or rewarded, no more than it is to be left to the People to do what is Right in their own Eyes; but we are always to conceive those Actions to be particularly defined by some positive Laws.

For as on the one hand there would be nothing but Confusion and Distraction among Men, without the Interposition of Governors; so on the other hand, Government without Laws to direct the particular Exercise of Power might dwindle into Arbitrariness and Oppression: In regard that Governors, as they are mortal Men, may have their Frailties and Passions, though they are not so apt to suffer them to sway the Sense and Judgment of their Minds, or to become the Rules and Principles of their Actions, as the Generality of their Subjects are.

And therefore, in one word, the Governor's Office seems properly to consist in dispensing Justice duly, according to the express Direction of written Laws, and in distributing righteously the Rewards

wards and Punishments appointed for the enforcing of them.

In this view then his Office takes in the Consideration of Justice as it relates either to the Rights, or to the Deserts of Men. And in order to our recollecting more explicitly the Matters and Things to which his Commission extends, as we may conceive them contained under the general Description given by the Apostle, it may be expedient to enquire

I. Who may be said to be Evil-doers, and what Punishment is to be inflicted upon them?

II. Who are understood by them that do Well, and what Praise or Encouragement is to be bestowed upon them by their Governors?

I. We are to enquire who may be said to be Evil-doers, and what Punishment is to be inflicted upon them by their Governors?

Evil-doing is a comprehensive Phrase, which implies in it every kind of Wickedness that can be the Subject of human Action; so that to enumerate all Instances which may denominate Men Evil-doers, would be to point out the various ways whereby Men may do any thing to dishonour

honour God, to injure one another, or to corrupt themselves. For Men may be considered as Evil-doers in all these Respects, and become obnoxious to the Censure and Correction of the Magistrate, as far as any of these kinds of Actions come within his Ken and Cognizance.

For the professed Purpose and Design of that Commission, by which the Governor acts, is to preserve and promote the universal Peace and Welfare of the Society under his Care and Inspection, and for that End to take an Account of all Actions which in the Judgment of the supreme Authority, and of the Laws thereby enacted, do affect or interrupt the Good and Happiness of that Society, or of any particular Member of it. And it has been the Sense of all civilized Nations, where the Principles of natural Reason have not been utterly depraved and defaced, that the Actions of Men, in these several Instances, as they tend to dishonour God, to injure their Neighbours, or to abuse themselves, are incompatible with the Safety, Peace, and Welfare of Society, and have accordingly enacted coercive Laws and Penalties for the Doers of them.

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In our Nation in particular these Evil-doings are considered as the proper subject matters for Penal Laws, and are consigned to Punishment as such under the several Heads of Irreligion and Prophaneness, Unrighteousness and Immorality.

If we take the Notions separately and apart, which are comprehended under these general Heads, we may consider Irreligion as the want of that due Sense and Apprehension of God, and of the divine Perfections in the Mind, which we may derive from the Light of Nature as well as of Revelation. And this Defect may appear from Men's Neglect to pay that natural Homage to God which they owe him as their Creator and sovereign Judge. So that They are properly irreligious or prophane Persons, who retain no inward Sense of the Being and Perfections of God, who treat the reasonable Notion of a supreme Being governing the World with Irreverence, and neglect to acknowledge his Power and Providence, and their own Dependence upon him, by such Expressions of Honour and Devotion towards him, as Men usually understand by worshipping him.

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Unrighteousness and Immorality may indeed be consider'd under the Character of Irreligion, as they afford outward Evidences of a contracted Ignorance or wilful Neglect of God's Authority, and of the Laws enacted by him for the Conduct of Mens Lives and Actions.

But an inward Sense and Apprehension of God, and of our Obligation to serve him, and to live in all good Conscience before him, is what we may understand by the Principle of Religion (which enlightens and influences the Understandings, Wills and Affections of Men) consider'd abstractedly from the outward Actions which may be the Fruits of it. And though the only Use and End of any Religious Principle is to enforce moral Practice, in regard Men cannot honour God by any reverential Apprehensions of him or Addresses to him, unless they are thence induced conscientiously to Do what is right and fit in Subordination to the Laws and glorious Ends of his Government; and in order to their arriving to that measure of Perfection and Happiness to which their Capacities extend: Yet this inward Principle is very justly esteem'd

to be the only solid Foundation upon which Virtue can be established, or any Righteousness and Morality be preserved among Men. In regard that as we take our perfectest Model of moral Laws from our most reasonable Apprehensions of the Divine Nature and Perfections, so likewise from our Sense and Conviction of the Power and Providence of the Supreme Being, and of our being accountable to him for our Actions, we derive our strongest Motives and most powerful Arguments to enforce the Practice of those Laws. For to describe the Beauty of Virtue, and the Deformity of Vice, to talk of the Fitness and Reason of things, and to say that it is fit that Subjects be obedient to their Governors, be just in their Dealings with one another, and sober and temperate in the Government of their own Persons, would be but a cold Lesson and a languid Injunction in behalf of Practical Religion, if we were to suppose Men to be without any inward Apprehension of a supreme Judge establishing this Fitness, and taking a strict Account of their Neglect of it. So then Governors are to regard those as irreligious and prophane Persons who disavow or
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any way disparage these fundamental Principles of Religion; and to restrain them from doing any thing to weaken and impair in the Minds of their Subjects that Reverence which is due from reasonable and conscious Beings to their Almighty Creator and All-Righteous Judge. For if it should appear that Governors are interested at all in the Religious Principles of the Society under their Care, it will follow of course, that they are, as much as in them lies, to prevent them from being corrupted or defaced. And likewise it will be a Part of their Office to see that the Society be provided with those means which are necessary to preserve the general Impressions of Religion on Mens Minds, and that the publick Worship of God be continually maintain'd in a pure and decent manner, which may be worthy of that Light and Knowledge which He has communicated to us in the Gospel. For as the End of Religious Principles is to enforce moral Practice, so the End of all Worship is to preserve the Principles which enforce that Practice.

And whatever Distinction may be made between the Civil and the Religious

gious Character of the Magistrate, and whatever may be objected to his interposing his Authority in Affairs of Religion, yet his Superintendence over them will thus far appear, if we confine his Consideration and Care to the present temporal Welfare of Men as they are united in Society. For as the Principles of Religion are the most effectual Foundation of virtuous Practice, and the strongest Bar to Unrighteousness and Immorality; they are of course the securest Instrument that can be conceived of publick Welfare; in that the more universally immoral Men grow, whether from Blindness of Understanding or Perverseness of Heart, the more difficult will it be to restrain them within the Bounds of any Laws; if there can, without preserving inward Impressions of Religion on Mens Minds, be any practicable or possible Method of dispensing human Laws at all. So that supposing the Governor is not to look further than to the present Welfare of the Civil Society, yet it is his Office to see that the Principles of true Religion which enforce Morality be professed, and that the necessary means of preserving them be maintained within his Do-

Dominion, if it be for the Promotion of that End only. And he may consider the Persons who disregard these Means, and disavow these Principles, as a pernicious kind of Evil-doers, who are Enemies to publick Security, and Traytors to the Common-wealth, as well as Rebels against God and his Government.

If it may be said that it is a Disparagement to Religion to consider it thus as an useful or necessary Instrument of Civil Government; and that the Magistrate cannot promote *true Principles*, or a sincere Profession of Religion, by punishing or rewarding good or evil Actions, because he cannot discern the Motives or Principles from which Men act, yet it is to be observed, that as Governors can at least enforce outward Actions materially good, they may consequentially reach the Dispositions and Principles that sway Mens Hearts, tho' they cannot descry them. For when they confine Men to do Actions upon Restraint, which we may suppose good only in Appearance, they will so preserve them from falling into that habit of Wickedness in which the Malignity and pernicious Consequence

quence of all Immorality consists, as well with respect to their own Souls, as to the Welfare of the Community of which they are Members ; in regard that it is by repeated Acts that a bad Habit is grafted in the Mind, and if those Acts be restrained, the Mind cannot become established in a vicious Habit, but may probably by Means and under the Influence of such Restraint be carried by degrees to the contrary State of True Goodness.

It is in this manner that even Divine Sanctions are of use to implant the Seeds and to propagate the Principles of Virtue, by restraining the Practices of Vice. For the Laws of God do not impute the evil Suggestions of Men's Minds to them as Sins, but the determinate Resolution to put those Suggestions in Practice ; and the End of the Divine Sanctions which enforce these Laws is attained, in case an unrighteous or immoral Intention be restrained from breaking into Action, because the Mind is by that means prevented from cherishing the evil Dispositions which corrupt it, and which cannot be kept alive without being indulged in Action.

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Thus the Magistrate's annexing Sanctions to the Profession and Practice of Religion, may not only be of Benefit to the Society in general, but also to the particular Members of it, in respect to the Welfare of their Souls; in regard his punishing the Practice of Vice may be a means to purify their Hearts, as well as to amend their Manners; and to reform their Principles, as well as to prevent the open Acts of Immorality. And therefore our Laws are Wise and Just, which direct the Magistrate to punish all Irreligion, Prophaneness and Immorality; and it is of the greatest Consequence to the Common-wealth, that those Laws be duly put in Execution.

It would be of no great use to consider the Effects of unrighteous and immoral Actions in a mere political Light, as they affect the Right of Estates, or the Health of Men's Bodies, in regard they afford in that View less disputed Matter for the Censure and Correction of civil Governors.

For it was never doubted by any, but that all unrighteous Actions, by which one Man invades the Rights of another, do fall immediately under the Magistrate's Cognizance, as they are destructive

structive of the End for which Men enter into political Society, which is to secure the Enjoyment of Property against Fraud and Violence, under the Protection of common Laws, and of publicly authorized Judges.

And as for immoral Actions whereby Men abuse themselves in their own Persons, they are detrimental to the publick Society, and consequently punishable by the Magistrate, as they debase Men's Faculties, and render them unfit for discharging civil Functions.

For the Society has an Interest in the Abilities of every Member of it, and a civil or political Right to employ them in the publick Service, in return for the Benefit of Protection which private Persons receive from the Community; and therefore when Men corrupt and abuse themselves, they at the same time injure the Publick, and become accountable to their Governors for those Acts of Debauchery whereby they render themselves incapable of social Offices. And it might be said further, That private Persons who debauch themselves may propagate Immorality, and by their vicious Examples may corrupt others; and if a People were to be generally
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suffered to indulge themselves in such Immoralities as would render them effeminate, the Society would become incapable to defend itself against the Invasions of foreign Force, by means of the private Vices of its particular Members.

For these and the like Reasons, whether we consider the Magistrate in his religious or in his civil Character, as the Minister of God deputed by divine Authority, to promote his Honour and Glory, and the Good of Mankind; or as the Governor of Men authorised by Consent to exercise Power over them for their common Security and Welfare, it may be the Duty of his Office to mark all ungodly, and unrighteous, and immoral Persons as Evil-doers, and to consign them accordingly to condign Punishment.

There needs not much be said of the several Kinds and Degrees of Punishments, which are to be inflicted upon these different Species of Evil-doers respectively, because the Proportions of Punishment are commonly prescribed and limited by the Laws against which Men transgress. And if we speak one Word only of the Nature and End of

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Punishment in general, we may easily perceive the Measure which is to be preserved in dispensing it in those particular Cases wherein there is a Latitude left for a reasonable Judgment, or an equitable Construction, which may soften the Rigour of Justice, and temper the Severity of the written Rule.

To punish a Man for an Offence, is to deprive him of some Good which he enjoys, or to impose upon him some Evil which he would not otherwise have undergone, in order to deter him or others, by the Example of his Suffering, from transgressing the Laws of Society. For as the End of Laws is to set Bounds to the unreasonable Passions of Men, which interrupt their common Happiness, so the whole Reason and Design of Punishment is to support the Authority of Laws, which provide for this End. And therefore Punishment being useful only as far forth as it maintains the Authority of Laws, it may be consistent with Justice for the Governor to mitigate or remit it, and to shew Mercy to an Offender, when he may be satisfied, from the Reason of the Case, that he does not thereby countenance the Offence, or by an over-indulgent Tender-
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ness diminish the general Veneration which is due to publick Laws.

Having thus observed who are to be accounted Evil-doers, and what Treatment they are to meet with from their Governors; we are now to turn our Thoughts to the other Branch of the Governor's Office, to see what Inter-course he has with the better part of Mankind. For he is to praise them that do well, and to defend the Children of the Poor, as well as to punish the wrong doer. And this was our *Second Enquiry* from the Words of the Text, to wit,

Who may be understood by them that do well, and what Praise or Encouragement is to be bestowed upon them by their Governors.

To do well is an Expression of great Latitude, which may extend to the Conduct of Men in all Relations and Capacities of Life either publick or private. For they who conform their Actions to the Laws of God or of Man, and lead sober, righteous and godly Lives, or who faithfully discharge all relative and social Duties, and act the part of good Subjects, good Parents, good Children, and the like, may in general be said *to do well*,

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But this Expression in the Text seems more particularly to respect Men in their publick Capacity, considered as Members of Society, living under the same Civil Government.

And in this View, *to do well* may be understood in a negative or in a positive Sense; either negatively, as Men (who keep themselves innocent and do no Ill, but carefully avoid the transgressing of any Law of the Society whereof they are Members) are allowed to do well in the Judgment of their Governors, whose Office it is to enquire into the Observance of Laws; or positively, as Men (who not only observe the Laws themselves, but are instrumental in causing them to be the more generally observed by others, who set forth any publick Endeavours, or any signal Examples of Virtue, for the promoting the Interest of Religion and the Welfare of Society) may still in a more eminent Sense be said to do well,

And the Praise or Encouragement which Subjects, that do well in either of these Instances, are to receive from their Governors, is that publick Approbation which is implied in their being continually protected by Authority in the peace-
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able Enjoyment of their Lives, Rights and Liberties.

This is indeed only a negative Encouragement or Reward, which mere Innocence, without the Expence of any Labour and Industry in attempting to do any publick good, is entitled to. But then it is all the Reward which Men that do well can expect from their Governors. For when they do as well as ever they can, they only do their Duty in vertue of the Obligations which the Laws of Religion and of Society lay upon them, and Security and Protection is all the Encouragement they can look for on the account of doing their Duty. This seems to be the general Sense of the Governors of all Societies, according to the usual Methods of their Administrations, in regard they only give sentence in matters of Right, and enquire into the Evil-doings which deserve to be punished, but take not into Consideration any Actions of Virtue, which may merit Rewards, because the Security which the Good enjoy by means of the Punishments which are inflicted upon the Evil, is supposed to be a sufficient Inducement to them to continue in a Course of Well-doing. And the
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Protection of private Men against Fraud and Oppression may give the Society wherein they enjoy that Advantage, a reasonable Claim to any Services they can perform for the publick Prosperity.

The Word *Praise*, which the Apostle makes use of to express the Benefit that Governors are to bestow on good Subjects, may indeed signify some particular Notice which is to be taken of their good Deeds. For *to praise* is to encourage Men by some express Act to persevere in doing well. And it may be conceived that Men, in their present imperfect State of Being, are properly to be swayed by mixed Motives, which operate on their Reason and Passions together; in regard that it is the Wisdom of the supreme Governor of the World, not only to prescribe Laws which are agreeable to the Reason and Understanding of Men, but to give Assurance of Rewards also, which may influence their Affections, and excite them to the Atchievement of Actions which may be conformable to his Prescriptions, and conducive to his Glory and the Good of Mankind. So that however Virtue may recommend itself to the Reason of Men, yet Rewards may

may be as necessary to excite them to the Practice of it, as Punishments are to deter 'em from Vice. And to expect that Men should continually exert any publick Acts of Virtue for promoting the Welfare of their Fellow-Creatures, from an abstracted Idea of the Beauty and Reasonableness of such Acts, without the Application of any Motives to carry forth their Affections to the Exercise of them, would be to overlook one half of their Composition, and to betray a want of Insight into human Nature. But it is here to be remembred, that there cannot be any exact Pattern proposed from the Proceedings of God in his Dispensation towards Men, for the Imitation of his Vice-gerents on Earth, because earthly Governors have it not in their Power to apply particular Rewards to the Deserts of all Men under their Dominion.

They have indeed some positive Rewards in their Disposal, which might in some Sense be considered as the proper Incitements to virtuous Actions, meant under the Word *Praise*, such as Riches, and Honour, and Distinction. But such Rewards may be regarded as mere matters of Favour, which no good Actions
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can in Reason give any Subjects a Title to demand.

For tho' the Governor is limited by Laws in the dispensing of Punishments, because it would be a Calamity equal to being without Government, to leave it in his Power to punish the Innocent at pleasure: Yet as it is not properly an Injury to any one Man, that another, less deserving than himself, should be rewarded, therefore the Governor is, as he may reasonably be, allowed a more extensive discretionary Power in bestowing Rewards.

But it may be observed, that however these Rewards may be Matters of mere Favour in respect of private Persons, who have no more Right to them one than another, yet there is no doubt but that, in respect of the Society in general, they are properly matters of Trust, reposed in the Governor, and that he is under the greatest Obligation to consult the publick Welfare in the disposal of them.

And if he should peradventure ever bestow them according to mere Fancy, Humour, and Inclination, or make them the Purchase of servile Flattery, and sordid Application, or regard them as
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mercantile Matters, and dispose of them to the highest Bidder for a valuable Consideration, he would be guilty of Unfaithfulness in his Station towards the Publick, and of a great Injury to the Community in General; though no particular Person can make a rightful Demand to his Favour in those Instances.

For the Governor may be as much obliged by the Duty of his Office to consider the publick Welfare in dealing out these Rewards, as in dispensing Punishments according to Mens Deserts; in regard it may be as great an Instance of wrong Administration to reward them who do ill, as it would be to punish them that do well; and he might thereby become Partaker of those Vices to which he should communicate Support, and truly render himself in Conscience, Honour, and Religion, responsible for all the ill Consequences which might accrue to the Community by his putting Persons unqualified in their Capacities or Morals, into Places wherein they would bear a relation to the Publick. For if every Man is to answer for neglecting the right Employment of those Talents which God has given him, much

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more would he have to account for, who having the Faculties and Talents of great Numbers of Men under his Direction, should neglect to apply them duly for the Benefit and Welfare of Mankind.

But it is to be noted, that what has been observed upon this Subject will by no means bear any such rigid and unreasonable Construction, as may any way interfere with the Right of Governors to administer Acts of Kindness and Beneficence to private Friends and Dependents, who may be endued with proper Qualifications to make use of their Favours for the publick Benefit. For to say, that they may not be very justly influenced by particular Regards of Patronage and Friendship in disposing of publick Rewards, so far as may be consistent with a due Care of supplying the Church and State with Men fit and able to discharge all Offices and Functions therein, would be to forget the Allowances to be made for gratifying those honest Affections of the Mind, by which particular Intercourses are maintained among Men, and to carry a reasonable Doctrine to a Romantic and extravagant Extent: And there-

therefore no Observation on this Head will in the least degree countenance the Discontents and Murmurings of any factious Men, who will ever find fault with the disposal of Offices, as long as it may chance to be their Fortune to be out of Office themselves. For any just Reflection which may be made concerning the Matter, can extend only to those Cases wherein publick Rewards might be negligently applied in the general, to the support of idle and illiterate, or of vicious and immoral Men, who should consume an useless and abandoned Life in Revelling, and Excess, and Gaming, and all wastful Diversions, without contributing by the Exercise of any publick Virtue to the Honour of God, or the Welfare of their King and Country: In regard that it is only in such Cases that Virtue would be deprived of its due Praise and Reward, that the Commonwealth would be defeated of the benefit it might reasonably expect from the Officers it is at the Charge of maintaining, and that the Government would be disappointed of the Support it might receive from the Services of Men of proper Capacities in the several Offices thereof.

In a Word, the Almighty and Sovereign Disposer of all things in Heaven and Earth, hath ordained Governours to a Place of Dignity and Power over their Fellow-Creatures, to the End that they might be capable of turning the Talents of all other Men to the Glory of God, and to the Advancing of his Kingdom in the World. And it is obvious, that they cannot more effectually pervert the End of that Office to which they are deputed, or betray the Trust committed to them by God, than by applying those Advantages to the support of Idleness, Vice and Ignorance, which were put into their Hands for the Encouragement of Virtue and Merit. For there is not any thing in which Governours can be deemed the Representatives of God, nor any sense in which they can be called his Ministers, so much as in rewarding Virtue, and making good Men happy as far as their Power extends: In Regard, that it is hereby only they truly resemble that God who is good, that they do his Work, are in his Place and Room, and perform his Office; or that they become worthy of the Character given them in Scripture, of being

ing as *Gods* to their Fellow-Creatures.

We see, upon the whole then, that it is the Office of all Governours (within the Verge of their respective Jurisdiction) to restrain and punish Evil-doers, and to maintain the Authority of Laws, to discourage Prophaness, Immorality and all ungodly Licence, to distribute equal and impartial Justice; to exercise Clemency within the Proportions of Reason and equitable Consideration; and to promote Piety and Virtue, by dispensing all the Encouragements and Rewards in their Power, to them that *do well*. And very justly and reasonably does such an Administration as this entitle our Governours to that Duty from their Subjects, which we proposed to recommend under the Second General Head of this Discourse: And it only now remains, that in a few Words we be reminded of the Obligations we are under to perform it, by way of Conclusion from what has been said.

The Duty which Subjects are enjoined in the Text to render to their Governours is a Submission to their Authority; and the Performance of this
Duty

Duty is not only reasonable in it self, but necessary to the very Being of any Government among Men. Insomuch that we cannot imagine to our selves any such thing as Government in the World, without perceiving it at the same time to be the Duty of those who live under it to pay a Submission to it. But the Duty of Submission which we owe to *our Governors* does not signify only a bare Acquiescence in the Determination of Authority, without murmuring at their Proceedings, or finding fault with their Conduct; but may comprehend likewise that Affection, Respect, and Gratitude, which is really due to them from us on Account of the substantial Benefits derived to us by their wise and good Administration.

For the Duty of merely submitting to the Authority of Governors is involved only in the *general Idea* of their Office, and is founded on the Relation which Subjects bear to them as they are invested with it; and we find the Apostle insisting on this Duty from Men who were subject to a Government that was *Tolerable only*: And that too, for the Lord's sake, or for the Credit and Reputation of Christ's Reli-

Religion, which provides better for the Peace and Order of Societies, and more effectually enforces that proper Behaviour in all Relations of Life which may contribute thereto, than any other Institution in the World. But as we live not only in a reasonable Degree of Peace and Order, but are also blessed with peculiar Rights and Liberties, and continually enjoy all Safety, Plenty, and Prosperity under the Protection of virtuous Magistrates, and an equal Dispensation of good Laws: We are to consider our Governors as our common Benefactors, and as the Publick Dispensers of every Blessing to us that this World affords; and in that View we are obliged in all Justice and Gratitude sincerely to wish them all Good, to pray to God for their Preservation and Welfare, and heartily to contribute our Endeavours, in our several Capacities, towards making their Administration successful and prosperous.

These are Duties which it is incumbent on *British Subjects* to render unto their Governors; and we have at present all Reason imaginable to induce us to a conscientious Performance

formance of them. For we do not now require an *Implicit* Submission to Power, or a blind Veneration of Authority, or a tame Resignation of any one Right to the Arbitrary Will and Pleasure of Governors; but only propose, that your Respect and Gratitude towards them, may bear some Proportion to their Virtues, and to the Benefits derived to the Community by their publick Care. And sure every one who hears me will easily grant, that He is not, by this Proposal, enjoin'd to pay any Duty to his Governors, but what Reason, Religion, and the uncorrupt Affections of his own Heart must require him to render to them. Yet if we treat our Governors by this Rule only; if we consider them as Officers publickly Authorized to dispense Laws, and to provide for our common Security and Welfare, and submit to them (according to any Limitation which we can imagine to be implied in the Apostle's Description) as unto Persons who are impartially to administer Punishments and Rewards according to Men's Deserts, we may in that View find Cause for rendering them as much Love and

Gratitude as I can recommend, or they need desire. For as our Supreme Governor has constantly shewed himself inclined to make our Publick Laws the Rules and Measure of his Administration, so has He appointed Magistrates under him of an established Reputation for Abilities and Integrity, who fill our Seats of Justice with very eminent Sufficiency, and with an unbiaſſed Impartiality diſpenſe theſe Laws.

And forasmuch as there ever will Cases occur among Men, which (from the infinite Variety of Circumstances wherewith they may be attended) will escape the Cognizance of positive Laws, however wisely they may be contrived: He hath furnished our highest Seat of Judicature with a Magistrate of as applauded Virtue, as ever possessed an Office in Human Society, whose thorough Insight into our Laws (acquired by Presiding with unwearied Application for many Years over the Courts wherein they are Administred) renders him perfectly capable of supplying all Defects of them, and of reducing contingent Cases by an equitable

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ple Judgment to a Conformity with the immutable Law of Righteousness.

Thus much may be said without a View to any Personal Respects, or the least Approach to suspicious Praise, in regard that it is only repeating what is Proclaimed by the publick Voice of all Denominations of Men amongst us, who see and own that Justice was never more righteously Administred in our Courts of Law and of Equity, than it is at this Time.

But we are obliged to our Supreme Governor for his Care and Goodness, not only in Providing us thus with good Magistrates to dispense our Laws, and to secure our Rights at Home, but also in furnishing Himself and his Kingdom with wise Ministers and Counsellors, to defend our Possessions, and to protect our Commerce Abroad, against Disturbers of the common Peace, and Violators of the Laws of Nations. For indeed, all that we could say of Domestick Felicities would dwindle into vain Ostentation, were not our Ministers to see that we may find the same Security in Trading to foreign Lands, as we enjoy in our own; in
regard

regard that our Trade is the Spring from whence flows all the Wealth and Plenty wherewith we abound; and if the most profitable Branches of It were suffered to be torn from us, we should have the less Use for those excellent Laws we boast of, because we should hardly have Property enough to subsist us under the Protection of them. So that we cannot but be sensible of the great Obligations we are under to these Governors, by whose Providence such our Commercial Rights are preserved, as are the principal Means of our common Prosperity. And we need not look far back into the Course of their Administration, to discover signal Instances of their Care, and abundant Matter for our Gratitude towards them, in this Respect. For they are every where allowed to have well discharged the Office of wise and faithful Ministers, upon the opening of that important Scene which at present takes up the Attention of the World; when by their timely Councils and active Measures, they defeated the Projects of ambitious Spirits, and disappointed the Force of two Potent Kingdoms, before they

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could be put in a Condition to oppress the Liberties of *Europe*, to Invade us in our own Country, or to ravish from us the Advantages, and our unquestionable Rights of Commerce in foreign Lands.

And by the Blessing of God on these Preventive Councils, they may in a little Time, and with a small Expence, crush these Unjust and Destructive Designs of our Enemies; which after they might have been thoroughly digested, and prepared for Execution, would have involved us in many Years War, and have cost us as much Treasure as a Tax to the Amount of half our Estates, would have hardly defrayed, in making a Defence against them. And yet we must have been contented to have undergone such Wars and Taxes, unless we would have chose rather to surrender, not only our Possessions and Trade Abroad, but our Religion, our Rights, and Liberties at Home also, in Exchange for Superstition, Poverty and Slavery.

But the general Resentment of this Vigilant and Active Administration, which has been expressed in the most exalted

exalted Strains of Applause and Gratitude by the Senate, and the City, and the Country, may render it needless for me to say a Word upon the great Occasion. Yet it may not be improper just to mention those universally acknowledged Virtues of our Superiours, who preside over our Publick Affairs, either at Home or Abroad, as they afford an apposite Argument and most reasonable Motive to engage us to discharge our respective Duties towards them, which at this Season it is the particular Business of my Office to remind us of. For they would be unhappy Governors, who could not conciliate the Love, Respect, and Gratitude of Mankind, by a painful Application of proper Talents and Qualities in the Service of the Commonwealth. And we should be unthankful Subjects, if we could harbour any Disaffection to a Government, under the auspicious Influence of which there are so great Benefits and Blessings derived to us.

Permit me but in one Word to review the State of our Case.

We

We live in the continual Enjoyment of all Civil and Religious Rights and Liberties that we can wish to be possessed of, under a well-constituted Government in Church and State.

Our Civil Constitution is founded on Laws which are equally the Measure of the Governor's Power, and of the Subjects Right, and every private Man is as secure of his particular Property under them, as the King is of the Crown he wears. The most effectual Means are provided for the regular Execution of these Laws, in that there are Able and Faithful Magistrates appointed to preside over them, who ever Administer them righteously in all Circumstances that occur among Men; so every Man being assured of the Fruits of his Honest Industry, all useful Arts are cherished among us, which may tend to our Publick Prosperity. And that we may be no way deprived of the most extensive Advantages that may accrue to us from the Encouragement of such Arts under this Administration at Home, our Ministers are vigilant in the Care of our Affairs Abroad, in maintaining the Interest of their Country, and protecting our Trade
against

against the Encroachments of all Foreign Nations.

And further still, That we may become a Wise and Virtuous, as well as a Rich and Wealthy People, our Supreme Governor has taken the proper Method for promoting of all Liberal as well as Mercantile Arts among us. For he hath not only provided the best Means for the general Discouragement of Vice and Immorality, by appointing good Magistrates to punish Evil-doers, but has also shewed a particular Desire that Men may be Advanced, by their Parts and Acquisitions, and that Praise and Distinction may be the Reward of Well-doing; in regard he hath provided our Universities with publick Instructors, to form the Youth of the Nation in those Sociable Accomplishments, and in that Knowledge of the World, and of the true Interest of *England*, which may qualify Men of Learning and Virtue, in the present and future Generations, for serving their King and Country, in the several Offices of the Commonwealth.

May God grant them the Understanding to make a right Use of, and proper Returns for the Bounty and Beneficence

cence of a Good and Gracious Prince.

Having thus observed our Case under a Civil Dispensation, we are to remember also, that our Spiritual Rights and Liberties are effectually secured under a mild Ecclesiastical Institution; For our Establishment in the Church is wisely contrived for the Protecting of Men in the free Exercise of their Consciences, and for the promoting the Profession and Practice of true Religion, as well as for the strengthening and supporting the Constitution of the Civil State. This Church maintains a Purity of Doctrine which is free from any mixture of Superstition, or any Freak of Enthusiasm, and preserves Order and Discipline without any Approach to Rigour and Severity. It is so far from abetting any Persecution, that it is as strong a Bar against every Degree of Uncharitableness on the one Hand, as of Licentiousness on the other. And it is indeed the securest Fence of Liberty in Religion that can be devised, or that the Condition of Human Nature will admit of; inasmuch as to undermine it would be inevitably to open a Door for religious Tyranny of one Species or other to succeed in its Place, as well as

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to unsettle the Constitution of the Civil State, to which it is united. For if any one should imagine to himself, that among a free People who claim a Privilege to Exercise, and are ever disposed by their natural Genius and Complexion to Exert a vehement Degree of Zeal for various Opinions in Religion, a general Liberty of Conscience can be maintained, or that a Civil Government can subsist in Peace and Safety, without having a Religious Establishment incorporated into it, he would form but an impracticable Notion, and prove an *Utopian* Projector.

Upon the whole then, the Profession of true Religion is promoted, and a Liberty of Conscience maintained, Profaneness and Immorality are punished, and the Practice of Virtue is encouraged; our Persons and Possessions are secured, our publick Trade protected, and all liberal and civil Arts and Sciences are countenanced, under our present Dispensation in Church and State.

And the World may be challenged to shew a Constitution so well formed, or an Administration better directed for rendering us a great and prosperous Nation in general, or making each parti-

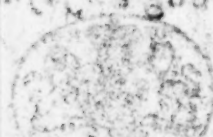
cular Person among us a good Christian, and a happy Man. So that it might be reasonably expected from these peculiar Advantages which we enjoy above all other Nations, that we should be best satisfied, the most contented, the most united People, the most Affectionate and Dutiful Subjects towards Governors, and the most virtuous Men upon Earth. Yet we might, peradventure, find ourselves disappointed in this Expectation, if we were to look about to see for the Effects which are produced by these boasted Means of Peace and Prosperity, in the Behaviour of all Orders and Degrees of Men among us: In regard that we might be led by this Enquiry to speak of our Civil and Religious Discords, of our Factions against the State, and of our Divisions in the Church, of our Corruption in Principles, and our Degeneracy in Morals, and of the many publick Evil-doings and Abominations which abound in our Land.

But the Time would fail me to recount the manifold Errors and Follies which too generally prevail among us; and often put our Governors to the Expence of as much Pains in guarding against the perverse Attempts of seditious

as Subjects, as against the destructive Projects of Foreign Powers. And therefore now only let us remember, that if we should turn our Liberties into Licentiousness, and wantonly abuse this happy Opportunity and Means of Happiness, which the Providence of God hath put into our Hands, they will make us liable to the severer Accusation, and the heavier Condemnation; and let us conclude with hearty Prayers to God, that he would give a Blessing to all the Counsels and Designs of our Governors for our Good, in promoting Piety and Virtue, in the regular Execution of our Laws, in defending our Trade abroad, and encouraging it at home; and that He would give all their Subjects Grace to forward these Designs, by doing their Duty in their respective Stations, by renouncing to all Parties and Factions, and joyning in one common Endeavour to promote the united Interest and Welfare of their King and Country. Which may God Grant, through *Jesus Christ* our Lord, &c.

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